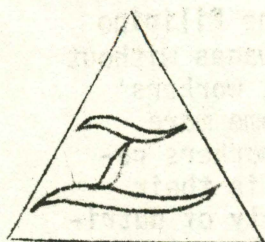


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Makabayan

Katipunan Ng Mga Demokratikong Pilipino, Guam Chapter
P.O. Box 6271, Tamuning, Guam 96911

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UNITE AGAINST MARCOS DICTATORSHIP I

Now into its fifth year of corrupt and oppressive rule, the Marcos dictatorship continues to plunge the impoverished Pilipino masses into further hardship and misery. In an attempt to cover up his outright fascist take-over by proclaiming a "New Society" on Sept. 22, 1972, the dictator Marcos has merely perpetuated the old corrupt society, but with himself and his equally ambitious wife, Imelda, heading the new oligarchs. Since that dark day in Philippine history, the basic rights and civil liberties of the Pilipino people have been ruthlessly squelched while the economic conditions of the country continue to deteriorate.

Far from eliminating the gap between rich and poor, or even narrowing the gap, martial law has only intensified this widening cleavage. The landlords and compradors are enjoying, to an even greater degree, their exploitative privileges with the exception of a few oligarchs (rivals of Marcos who have been stripped of their power). Martial law has also expanded the power and the fortunes of the military hierarchy, many who are now part of a new and corrupt elite. And of course let us not forget the great wealth accumulated by the Marcoses in those years following martial law, affluence which has earned the tyrant the title of one of the ten richest men in the world, according to Fortune magazine in 1969.

MARTIAL LAW-A BONANZA FOR FOREIGN BUSINESS!

Under martial law, Marcos has provided a bonanza to foreign profiteering by opening the doors of the country to greater exploitation of the already bankrupt Philippine economy by top U.S. multi-national companies. U.S. imperialism continues to dominate the economic, military, and political life of the Pilipinos, principally due to the large investments, holdings, and interests at stake in the Philippines. The Marcos regime cannot survive without U.S. military and economic

aid which has propped up this hated dictatorship and had okayed the coup back in 1972. Despite his ploys of diplomatic ties with socialist countries, significantly China, and his nationalist-sounding rantings and ravings, Marcos still remains, first and foremost, a puppet of U.S. imperialism. His anti-American rhetoric presently being mouthed in the U.S.-R.P. bases negotiations can only be seen as an agitating ploy to use the bases as a club to bargain for more U.S. political and military backing, support crucial to the oiling and maintenance of his dictatorial machine. Marcos desperately needs the funds to keep the salaries of the armed forces high since control of the military is the key to Marcos' absolute power.

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WHAT MARTIAL LAW MEANS TO THE PILIPINO PEOPLE

What is the impact of martial law on the Pilipino people? For the Pilipino worker, a worsening of working conditions and rapid decline in real wages without the right to strike. Due to the regime's bias in favor of management, workers' rights have been more arrogantly suppressed and their plight has become more insecure, with unemployment at 35%. The minimum wage for industrial workers remains at 8 pesos a day while for farm workers, a mere 4.75 pesos/day is their salary for a day's backbreaking work. If we realize that a day's supply of nutritious food costs 18.16 pesos (according to a number of government agencies' reports), it's not surprising that malnutrition plagues 3.5 million of the country's 11 million pre-school children.

For the peasant masses which make up 70% of the population, they are faced with aggravating conditions in spite of the New Society's land reform program, a sham with loopholes so numerous it was a farce from the start. Thus, the peasantry continues to remain at the mercy of the backward feudal conditions and the oppressive ways of the landlords who exploit them day to day.

For the urban middle class, they too are not exempt from the rising cost of living, taxes, and unemployment brought about by the New Society and the U.S. imperialist stranglehold on the economy. Students already burdened by tuition hikes must confront daily restrictions of their democratic rights on campus. Small landowners feel themselves as sacrificial victims of the sham land reform program which leaves the large hacienda land holdings of the present oligarchs untouched. Nationalist businessmen are feeling the squeeze by the biased treatment given to their more powerful counterparts. Thus, native businesses and industries continue to regress under martial law.

HEIGHTENED RESISTANCE UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Thus in the light of worsening social and economic conditions, what is the people's answer to martial law? Their only alternative is that of resistance, their only answer is that of a people's war. Martial law accomplished only the opposite of what it was designed to do. Instead of suppressing and pacifying the nationalist and revolutionary fervor of the 60's, prior to martial law declaration, it has only intensified the conditions necessary for revolutionary resistance. Brutal economic exploitation of the people, suppression of their basic human rights, the increasing economic domination by U.S. and Japanese imperialisms, has only broadened the ranks of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, nationalist united front.

Armed resistance waged by the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army under the Moro National Liberation Front has been increasingly gaining ground as well as support of the Pilipino masses. Despite Marcos' empty boasts of a current cease-fire, the BMA will continue to wage their struggle, a struggle which has been waged for centuries. An urban underground movement continues to flourish in the areas of propaganda and organizational work among workers and squatters. Even vocal resistance from religious groups and other legal circles has not spared the Marcos regime from their social injustices and atrocities.

THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Because of semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of Philippine society, the present stage of the Philippine revolution assumes a national democratic character. It is a national revolution because it seeks to assert the Pilipino nation's national sovereignty against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, particularly its number one puppet bureaucrat, Marcos. It is a democratic revolution because it seeks to liberate the Pilipino people, particularly the peasantry and the working class (who constitute the majority of Philippine society) from their oppressive conditions fostered by the three basic evils of Philippine society: U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The national democratic revolution seeks to fulfill the goals of the unfinished Philippine Revolution of 1896 which was aborted by the expansionist U.S. imperialist forces; the primary goal being that of attaining a genuine independence for the Philippine nation. The success of the national democratic revolution will culminate in a coalition government represented by all patriotic classes, with class leadership coming from the majority classes of workers and peasants.

(continued on page 3)

THE ROLE OF THE PILIPINO COMMUNITY IN GUAM

Though we are presently outside of the Philippines, we have a role in lending support to the struggle of our kababayan (countrymen) back home. This support, basically financial and moral, may be fostered in many ways. Though many of us may have left our mother country for various reasons, perhaps most of us may agree that we did so to breathe the air of greater economic and political freedom, a freedom of opportunity and prosperity unavailable and denied to us and our children by a backward and deteriorating Philippine economy. Yet fortunate as we may all be now for finding better opportunity and material success here in Guam, why should we not take the liberty to speak for the millions of our countrymen, relatives, and friends who shall never be able to escape these conditions as we did. It is our view that the miserable economic conditions in our homeland has forced many of us to leave it. And though we may change our citizenships and even our names, we can never hide the fact that **WE ARE PILIPINOS**. A foreign dominated economy, and yes, even Marcos himself may chase us out of the Philippines but he can never chase the Philippines out of us.

It is in this light that we, the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino-Guam Chapter have taken on the task of publishing this regular newsletter. Through this monthly news and analysis format, we will strive to keep ourselves better informed on the conditions in the Philippines as well as on issues of interest and concern to the local Pilipino community here. We felt it appropriate to entitle this endeavor ANG MAKABAYAN (The Nationalist) in view of the national democratic character of the struggle before us, a struggle which shall one day blossom into a new day of national democracy and genuine independence for the entire Pilipino nation.

UNITE AGAINST THE U.S. - MARCOS DICTATORSHIP !!!
DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM, FEUDALISM AND BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISM !!!
LONG LIVE THE PILIPINO PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRACY !!!
MABUHAY ANG PAKIKIBAKA NG MAMAMAYANG PILIPINO PARA SA PAMBANSANG DEMOKRASYA !!!
MAKIBAKA !! HUWAG MATAKOT !!!

THE U.S.- R.P. BASES NEGOTIATIONS HULLABALOO AND THE RELEVANCE OF U.S. BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES

Lately, the puppet chieftain, Marcos under the baton of his U.S. imperialist masters has been, amidst towering contradictions, howling "dignity" in its painful attempt to blackmail the American people in supporting the U.S. imperialist - Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. But the American people in solidarity with the oppressed Pilipino masses know better. Stripped of its glittering generalities, the Marcos statements of "justice" and "give us our due" are but throes of a tyrant in his deathbed struggle. No more will the American people support U.S. imperialism, no more will they allow to be conscripted to fight or support a war that is not genuinely theirs, no more will they allow themselves to be duped -- the Marcos regime is not the Pilipino people's.

But the U.S. imperialist-Marcos dictatorship collusion will continue. In the ultimate, reason shall not prevent them in trying to postpone their inevitable overthrow. Freedom, after all, is not debated upon -- it can only be fought for and won. Thus, the Pilipino people's declaration of people's war against the U.S. imperialist-Marcos dictatorship can only be the correct path in the struggle for national democracy.

Subtracting the purely rhetorical and the irrelevant, there are only two arguments worth pondering in the retention of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines, namely: (1) Economic benefits derived from the bases in the form of employment and (2) the bases "shield" the country from external aggression.

The "economic argument" is, of course, a mere side issue used to rationalize the presence of the U.S. bases in the Philippines. Exactly, this is what makes

the argument weak. If the military bases are dismantled, the Pilipino people could convert the areas (more than 200,000 acres) into production areas, either for agricultural or industrial purposes. The benefits that could be derived from such an enterprise could surpass the morsels presently collected for the use of the bases. These bases too are breeding grounds for anti-social activities that erode the moral fiber of Philippine society. Prostitution, drug addiction, black marketing, gambling, and all the immoral and anti-social activities abound in the periphery of these bases. It is not a joke to say that the biggest beneficiaries of the military bases are the thousands of pimps and prostitutes, now called "hospitality personnel" in the lingo of the Marcos regime and its fondness of euphemisms. Also the reforestation of the areas presently covered by the military bases could prevent the annual floods that keep damage tolls to the billions because of the disregard of proper ecology under the guise of "security sanitation".

The second argument is a tired cliché. The "Domino Theory" is a mere theory--it has no historical basis. Since 1947, no country, big or small, was in the least interested in waging aggression against the Philippines. The People's Republic of China, which was supposed to invade the archipelago, has proven to be friendly and non-aggressive. If at all it is, it would have "annexed" Taiwan which it has proven throughout the world as its legitimate province, but it has not. If there is a country that we have to be vigilant of, it is the social-imperialist Soviet Union because its post-World War II moves record a number of incidents of aggression.

However, from the recent liberation struggles in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the true imperialist aggressor is and has been the United States, which had used its bases in the Philippines and in Guam to launch its aggressive genocidal warfare against the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples. The United States continues to be the number one aggressor in Southeast Asia and the presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines allows the U.S. to maintain its economic interests there. If the Philippines is attacked by a foreign power, it would probably be because of the mere presence of the U.S. bases rather than the absence of them. U.S. bases in the Philippines constitute the danger of acting like magnets for foreign attack. A self-reliant Philippines, independent and free of U.S. imperialist domination is not only less apt to be attacked by another country but would also definitely be a more progressive nation at that.

By: Ilving Tabios Zamora I

PILIPINO MUSLIMS TO GET "GENUINE AUTONOMY"?

The Marcos Dictatorship, finally, is discussing a feasible establishment of an autonomous Muslim region. Negotiations in Tripoli, Libya last December between Marcos panel, headed by Defense Secretary Carmelo Z. Barbero and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) headed by Nur Misuari, had reached a ceasefire agreement in war-torn Mindanao. During the ceasefire, they are going to hold a round of talks within three months.

The Marcos regime will hold a plebiscite in 13 rebellion-torn provinces in the Southern Philippines. Pilipino Muslims will get their autonomy after Marcos' plebiscite, "to determine which of them want to be part of an Autonomous Muslim Region ..."? But isn't it that the Marcos press reported that the majority of Muslims who voted to the last October mock referendum favoured the continuity of martial law? Can we expect an impartial referendum if martial law hasn't been lifted? Moreover, if he can manipulate the referendum results in all the provinces in the Philippines, what more these 13 provinces?

DIVIDE AND RULE. Before the Libya talks, the government decided to release through the local media the MNLF's demands. The demands were:

- Muslim control of government and security forces in the South;
- control of administration, the judiciary and education up to secondary school;
- economic autonomy;
- the right to participate in the central government and all organs of the state;
- and the establishment of Islamic Life and society in the South.

Marcos' favorite tactic of divide and rule was evident in the daily, syndicated headlined stories in the press trying to discredit the MNLF before the talks started. The press quoted pro-government Muslim officials and "youth leaders" in the South as rejecting the MNLF's demands and saying the rebel group was not supported by the people and should be dissolved. Observers were left asking why the government should go to such extent to negotiate with the MNLF if the organization was out of favour with its own people in the South. Now that they are about to begin their second round of talks on Fe. 5, the local press again tried to whip out Christian-Muslim antagonisms. The press quoted that a "Christian backlash" and a renewal of hostilities might erupt between Christian vigilantes and Muslims if the government bends backward too far in dealing with the MNLF.

Because the Muslim war remains a threat to his government, the Marcos dictatorship is using all means and strategies to pacify Muslim revolution. His tactic of whipping out a Christian-Muslim war didn't work out. As one Muslim freedom fighter said, "This is not a Christian-Muslim religious struggle. We are only fighting those Christians who are willing to be instruments of the military, and land speculators from Luzon. We have a long history of hospitality to Christian settlers from the North whom we have allowed the use of our land. But suddenly we found ourselves being driven out. Massacred!" (The Sunday News, Guam. An eyewitness report by Ms. Diaz, Aug. 17, 1975).

In 1970, Ferdinand E. Marcos began organizing settlements in Mindanao, bringing in settlers from Luzon and the Visayan Islands to occupy ancestral Muslim lands. Muslims now retain only one-third of the land. Christian settlers created the Ilagas (or Rats, term used by natives of Mindanao) who are backed by the Marcos government. They were Christian fanatics who take out ancestral lands and are responsible for most of the massacres of Muslims. Government soldiers also found fortune from plundering in the areas of refugees after they evacuated their place. Rear Admiral Espaldon, for example, who heads up the regimes campaign against the Muslims in the South, has made millions of pesos from smuggling sugar out of the country. (What's Happening in the Philippines? p.35 by Samuel P. Bayani)

IMPERIALISM

The Mindanao area (including Sulu and Palawan Islands) comprises the richest part of the Philippine archipelago. The abundant mineral resources include iron ore, nickel, manganese, coal and copper. The crop-growing lands are extensive and fertile and there is also lumber inland and good fishing grounds off the coast. Oil has been recently discovered in the Sulu sea and off Palawan Island. 30% of the coal reserves are in the embattled areas of Zamboanga, Davao, Surigao, and Cotabato.

Among the U.S. corporations plundering the wealth of the people and exploiting cheap labor are Dole, with a pineapple plantation of 19,200 acres, Del Monte with 17,429 acres, Goodrich, Firestone, and Goodyear, each with more than 10,000 hectares in rubber plantations, and Myerhauser with extensive logging concessions. A host of Japanese corporations have investments in mining, lumber, coconut, hemp, and fishing. On the night of Feb. 23, 1976, Muslim guerrillas attacked the hydro-electric power plants near Iligan being constructed with funds from the Asian Development Bank and some very large Japanese corporations. The Electric Power Board received quite a shock from the attack, as did the Japanese companies- Kurimoto Iron Works, Kumagai Gumi, and Hitachi Construction Equipment Co.. In fact, the construction of the dam will only provide power for Kawasaki Steel in Cagayan de Oro.

The U.S. investments help explain the U.S. military and economic support of over 100 million dollars yearly to the beleaguered Marcos regime. According to Far Eastern Economic Review (Jan. 14, 1977) the Marcos government is spending P2 million (U.S. \$272,000) a day in the conflict in Mindanao. U.S. military advisers, base and logistics facilities, and agencies such as the CIA and AID are also involved in aiding Marcos campaign of error. Through the use of U.S. military aid, the government has employed chemical warfare and begun dropping Napalm on Muslim barrios in contested areas. A secret report of a government fact-finding team recorded that in the month of November 1974 alone, 20,000 men and women were killed by the army in the Muslim province of Sultan Kudarat, North Cotabato.

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DEVELOPMENT

Marcos' bragging of "development" in Mindanao only benefits foreign corporations, particularly U.S. and the greedy Christian landlords. It would not have led to rebellion if the Muslim population had been clearly benefiting from the development of the island, which they view as rightfully belonging to them. As the island was being developed, they were being left behind and were not sharing in any meaningful sense in the developmental process. While a variety of special packages have been offered the Muslim community - extra scholarships, generous school appropriations, Amanah Bank for Muslims, special development funds, etc. - these only benefit the "middle class" of the Muslim population. The massive new plantation projects, the new mines planned and under development, the beginning of industrialization, the electrification, road and harbor-building and the rich resources of Mindanao are being used by Marcos regime in its deals with big Japanese corporations, the international lending agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

BMA & NPA

Whatever progress lies on the current discussions, Marcos will use all means to hamper the Autonomous Muslim Region. He will still use different tactics such as divide and rule, surrendering of fake Muslim leaders, mock referendums, Christian-Muslim wars, developments, amnesties, etc. But much to Marcos' dismay, the growing armed forces of the national liberation, the New People's Army (NPA) and the Bangsa Moro Army (BMA), MNLF's military arm, in southern Mindanao are united in their opposition to the martial law regime. The Muslim uprising in the South is part of the common struggle of the whole Pilipino people against the U.S.- Marcos dictatorship.

By: Rey Costiniano

IN MEMORY OF MENDIOLA MASSACRE

January 30, 1977 commemorates the 7 year anniversary of the historic first episode of the First Quarter Storm, popularly known as the Battle of Mendiola. This battle actually started out as a peaceful but militant demonstration on Jan. 30, 1970. The demo was immediately organized to protest the brutality of the fascist police and army towards demonstrators at a rally outside Congress four days earlier. This Jan. 26 rally had boldly exposed the true "state of the nation" as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state; thereby, repudiating Marcos' own "State of the Nation Address" to the puppet Congress.

Therefore the immediate call to demonstrate was answered by 50,000 people marching down Mendiola Street. In turn, the fascist army and police attacked the people, turning the demo into a bloody battle fought until dawn the next day. In the midst of the battle four comrades were killed: Ricardo Alcantara, Fernando Catabay, Felicisimo Roldan and Bernardo Tausa. Also, 100 others were wounded and 300 arrested and imprisoned at Camp Crame.

The spirit and deep meaning of Mendiola is captured in the lyrics of the song below, entitled simply, "Mendiola". The Battle of Mendiola will live on in the hearts and minds of the Pilipinos as the day when the people arose against police brutality with a brave and militant defense in the name of freedom.

Mabuhay ay langit sa sariling bayan
Kung ang sambayanan ay may kalayaan
Umaga ay tula ng kaligayahan
At ang dapit hapo'y awit kung pakinggan

Taas ang kamao, tanda ng paglaban
Daan libong anak pagtutol ang sigaw
Putok ng armalite sagot ng kaaway
Ang akala yata'y uulong ang bayan

Inang Bayan bakit may piring ang mata?
May busal ang bibig, may takip ang taenga
May galos ang kamay ng lumang kadena
Hanap ang paglaya sa daang Mendiola

Nagliliwayway na't mapula ang langit
Ang bayang inapi ngayo'y nakatindig
Pakikibaka ay lalong sumigasig
Sa daang mendiola, tagumpay ang awit

PERSPECTIVE ON UOG

The University of Guam should be the center of learning in Guam, Micronesia, and the South Pacific. Guam's high school students have a low opinion of UOG which is why many high school graduates don't study at UOG or even if they do, they don't stay there long. Micronesian students only study at UOG because of cost considerations and hardly any from the South Pacific study at UOG at all. If UOG is not the center of learning as it should be, that is because its administrators do not have the foresight to look at it this way. It has so many problems unrelated to this task that for them to even take the first step would be years away. Despite this, we should work to solve UOG's problems to make that first step a closer reality. UOG has serious problems; among those are the following:

- 1) The Board of Regents. This group of people are suppose to determine and evaluate UOG's problems, programs, and policies. Yet this board has done nothing to solve two of the students' biggest complaints-lack of courses and a bigger library. Instead the Board gets into matters of questionable priorities such as the following:
 - a) giving an honorable degree to Imelda Marcos, wife of Philippine dictator, Ferdinand E. Marcos (cancelled due to student/teacher protest)
 - b) raising last summer's tuition fee from \$5 to \$25 per credit
 - c) trying to stifle academic freedom at a mini-convocation which featured Philippine martial law critique, Primitivo Mijares. (Board Chairman Mark Panggelinan claimed its action was to oppose the use of the advertised term, "mini-convocation", which he said only the Board possessed the right to call such a gathering. Yet when Philippine Consul Puruganan was invited by the same student sponsors to speak at a likewise, similarly advertised "mini-convocation", not even one word came from the Board.)
 - d) hiring the recently resigned (or pressured ?) UOG pres. Yamashita as a consultant with a salary of \$6,000 higher than his previous salary.

If the Board keeps coming up with questionable actions like these, then it is clear that they are not in tuned with the major problem facing UOG.

- 2) Its Big Deficit. Every year the UOG is subsidized by the Guam taxpayers to a tune of not less than \$6 million. Yet this deficit would be tolerable to a certain extent if the services were efficient and if more teachers were hired. Yet there are more administrators than needed. Certainly one way to raise funds for UOG would be to raise tuition. But this course would be recommendable only if first, excess administrators are removed, second, if services were more efficient and third if these funds raised as a result of higher tuition fees would go directly to hiring more teachers and opening more courses.

3) Lack of Courses and Teachers. As you can see, this problem is very related to the prior-mentioned problem. During the first two hours of each registration not less than twenty courses are closed. After four hours, forty courses are closed. As a result, many students are discouraged from studying because of bad schedules and unavailability of required courses. This happens every registration without fail. The UOG Administration reasons out they can't hire more teachers because they have no money. It is no wonder why so many students transfer on to other Universities. These problems are serious, and easy solutions are not in sight. Even though the solutions are not easy to come along, neither should Guam citizens and its politicians should tolerate this situation. Pressure should be constantly applied upon the administrators to come up with a plan to solve these problems. The next UOG Pres. should have the foresight and initiative to solve these problems. However, it is up to the students themselves to act in their own interests, in insuring that the University is responsive to their needs. It would be a great stake to all of us living in Guam if only our institution of learning, the University of Guam cannot develop its potential to deserve its title as truly the center of learning in Guam, Micronesia and the Pacific.

By: Bong Gabriel

NEWS BRIEFS :

MARCOS IS HERO IN PILIPINO KOMIKS. The Philippine Bureau of National and Foreign Information has prepared an illustrated comics series which "uncovers little known memories of Marcos' past" and traces "the impressive growth of little Ferdinand... into one of the most respected Filipino statesmen", says a govt. announcement. The 48-page colored biography will be serialized in the popular "Pilipino Komiks".

AM*AM*AM

WHO'S WHO IN THE OPPOSITION. Former Manila journalist Tony Garcia reports that Bonifacio Gillego, former army intelligence officer and Con-Con delegate, is now leading anti-Marcos forces in the province of Sorsogon in the far south of Luzon.

AM*AM*AM

WHO ARE THE CO-SIGNERS FOR THESE LOANS? The Central Bank of the Phil. has revealed that during the last 10 years while Marcos was chief executive, the government's foreign borrowing has skyrocketed. The foreign debt, which was only \$512 million in 1966, has increased 4-fold. As of 1975 \$2.3 billion was owed to foreign govts. and lending institutions. (At current exchange rates that is approx. P1800 for every family in the Phil. But the bankers expect to be paid in dollars, not pesos.)

ANG MAKABAYAN is a monthly newsletter published by the Katipunan Ng Mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP)-Union of Democratic Filipinos, Guam Chapter. Although AM does not have a set subscription rate and that there is no price per individual issue, AM is accepting financial contributions from our readership and sympathizers which are needed to cover production expenses (PAPER, STENCILS, ETC.).

Aside from monetary donations, AM also is encouraging our readers to send in any literary contributions, be it underground news items, cartoons, etc., as well as any response to our newsletter (suggestions, criticisms, letters to the editor, etc.). AM would very much like to know how you feel about this first issue. Only with your support can ANG MAKABAYAN succeed since it is your newsletter-it speaks for the interests of the Pilipino people!

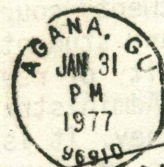
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